THE
NATION

JANUARY 4, 1958 . . 25c

WHO WON AT NATO?
by Geoffrey Barraclough

STATE OF THE UNIONS
by J. B. S. Hardman

MENACE of PAY-TV
by Dallas W. and Jennie N. Smythe

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LETTERS

Comment on Mills's "Program for Peace"

Reprints of Professor Mills's article are available; see notice below.—Ed.

Dear Sirs: The Pulitzer Prize for the best article of the year should go without a doubt to C. Wright Mills for his Program for Peace in your December 7 issue. Now we have been offered a reasonable and logical fourteen-point program as an alternative to the Doomsday Circus facing the world. It is the only fully-rounded program for peace yet proposed. What better Christmas present than the peace, security and good will it contains, could we be given?

The question Mills asks at the close of the article, in a sense, is: "Will this Christmas package be opened?" Each one of us who has read it can be instrumental in seeing that it is by talking about it to others, sending a copy where it will do the most good, carrying on forums, etc.

MARK KEATS

Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Sirs: I could not agree more fully with anything than with C. Wright Mills's denouncement of the current suicidal arms race and his indictment of our "over-developed" society. And some of his concrete proposals are excellent. However, unilateral disarmament for the United States and Europe does not strike this reader as the best way to bring the world to its senses. Surely the use of a strengthened U.N. and of a U.N. police force is the most practicable way to begin a "roll back" of national military forces in Europe and elsewhere. The Communist system has its vested government interests which would not be likely to react so sweetly to U. S. unilateral disarmament as Mr. Mills, or as pacifists, think they would —just as we have our military-industrial connections which have so often obstructed rather than facilitated disarmament efforts. (For that matter, the unintentional touch of unilateral disarmament inherent in the U. S. missile lag has not yet softened Soviet aims.)

A U.N. force could serve as a sort of bridge from current militaristic idiocy to a tolerable future. This would be especially true if the U.N. could control the newest space and missile devices.

ANN HUBBELL

Ypsilanti, Michigan

Dear Sirs: Professor C. Wright Mills is not so very far wrong in stating that the United States should withdraw its troops and aircraft from the Middle East. The thing is: to have a splinter in a hand may not be pleasant, but to remove it may cause trouble. Now is a time when we need skill in handling international affairs.

The present slant of *The Nation* on foreign affairs is wholesomely different from that of some other national magazines.

CHARLES W. SHEPARD

Atlanta, Georgia

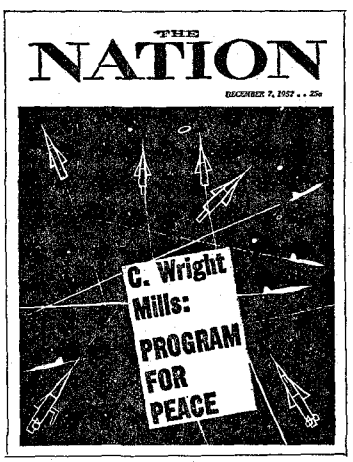
Dear Sirs: To Mr. C. Wright Mills's fourteen-point program, I have only to add a fifteenth: ten thousand reprints of the article should be dropped on Moscow and Washington.... Anger, optimism and sanity, welded into a new idealism, can hammer home the lesson that the future must be ours.

STANLEY EDELSON

Bar Harbor, Maine

Dear Sirs: I don't usually re-read articles. I have read Professor Mills's three times and hope to read it again

(*Continued on page 13*)



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THE NATION

EDITORIALS

Negotiate On What?

Lewis Carroll's Alice would have found herself very much at home at the NATO meeting. Non-existent missiles in exchange for promissory bases: What a Wonderland bargain! Yet those who believe that the world's problems can be settled in some way other than through international hari-kari are grateful that NATO dealt exclusively in futures. It leaves time, as Geoffrey Barraclough (see page 5) points out, for the build-up of public pressures which alone, it would seem, can force a genuine East-West negotiation. In this connection, there are two obvious points to be made. The first (the reader will forgive us if we play an old record) is that Mr. Dulles, who has repeatedly announced that he does not believe in negotiation, is clearly not the man to negotiate. The second is that we ought to take a long, hard look at what it is we want to negotiate. Ten long years of negotiation on disarmament have proven futile mainly because burning political issues have devoured the mutual trust on which disarmament, to some extent, must be based. As long as the West arms the Baghdad Pact countries, just so long will the Soviet Union continue to arm the "neutralists" among the Arabs; as long as the West acts as if its main line of defense will collapse without the industrial complex of the Ruhr, just so long will the Soviet Union reject any German unification plan that leaves the Ruhr in Western hands; as long as NATO threatens the Russians with an arc of bases extending from the North Sea to North Africa, just so long can the Soviet Union be expected to retaliate with a Warsaw Pact.

The Russians have offered their version of a solution for each of these problems: a complete embargo on arms to the Middle East; the neutralization of a united Germany; an anti-aggression pact between NATO and the Soviet bloc. This is not to say that the Russian solutions should be accepted in the terms in which they have been offered; it is only to say that they promise more in terms of negotiation than does disarmament. The arms race is a product of political conflict, and not the other way around. Negotiating on the political issues is negotiating on the heart of the matter.

Franco Has a Job for NATO

Immediately following Secretary Dulles' visit to his old friend Franco last week, a military spokesman for the Spanish dictator "suggested" to Western newsmen that NATO might find Spain's Canary Islands useful as a naval base and her desert regions in western North Africa ideal as bases for aircraft and missiles. The generosity of Franco's gesture is duly noted; it is also duly noted that if the Caudillo could inveigle NATO into his part of North Africa, he could shift onto broader shoulders his present troublesome and costly war with Arab nationalists. Franco was never a fool.

If, as one might expect, the Spanish dictator made this offer direct to Secretary Dulles prior to the public announcement, we hope that the Secretary reminded him (1) that we already have six American air bases in Morocco; (2) that King Mohammed V of Morocco, a recent good will visitor to these shores, might take a dim view of the transaction; and (3), that we already have six air and naval bases abuilding in Spain itself—and all of them are behind construction schedules.

Who's Got the Bug?

The official question of the week before Christmas in New York City might well have been "Who's got the bug?"—the "bug" in this case being a scientific device modern man has made from the wonders of his science to listen in on, or "bug," the conversations of his fellow modern man. There was first the bug used by Jimmy Hoffa, who was indicted for tapping the wires of his fellow union employees, and who got off with a hung jury by virtue of one man's refusal to find him guilty. This was one of a long line of charges

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against Hoffa, who makes a habit of breaking the rules, and the news was therefore met with no more or less than standard revulsion on the part of the public for a man who would stoop to spy on his fellow workers.

But just about that time along came a headline revealing that the New York City Transit Authority, representatives of the people, for two years had hidden a recording microphone in the meeting hall of one of the people's unions, the Motormen's Benevolent Association. Authority officials, men of a government whose higher arm was busy trying to bring low Jimmy Hoffa on charges of bugging his employees, saw nothing wrong in their own conduct. In the first place, the law makes a distinction between spying by means of a hidden mike and spying by means of tapping a telephone wire (morality makes no such distinction); and anyway, the officials had gotten permission to spy from the New York Police Department!

It turned out that the Mayor had not been informed of this secret venture into mass communications. He found the business distasteful and asked for an end of bugging. We are still waiting, however, for him to do something about it. We are also waiting for a law which will put the secret mike and the secret tap into the same criminal category. And most impatiently, we await the day when a jury will laugh out of court any prosecutor who attempts to punish a private citizen who has merely patriotically adhered to the moral standards set by his own government.

Mood Indigo

The populace of Venezuela gathered at the polls on December 15 and, in orderly and colorful fashion, confirmed General Perez Jimenez as president for another five years. The order was maintained by the constabulary and the color was supplied by the voting cards—blue for "yes" and red for "no"—by which the Venezuelans expressed their will.

This was a plebiscite, not an election. General Jimenez had recently been defeated in an election, but he declared it void and substituted this new procedure in which the electorate was not confused by opposing candidates and was able frankly to express its opinion of the incumbent and his hand-picked chamber of deputies. Eighty-five per cent of the cards returned were blue, and this brilliant result was obtained without anything you could rightly call coercion. Voters, however, were advised to keep on their persons the card they did not drop in the ballot box—just in case any ugly suspicions should arise. As further evidence of Venezuelan enthusiasm for democratic process, foreigners of two years' residence in the country were encouraged to vote and the usual procedure of registration was on this occasion suspended.

Latin American political methods have always tickled the Yankee sense of humor, and this plebiscite is as good a farce as any. We could afford a tolerant laugh if we were not so intent on being spokesman for the free world. Venezuela is also part of that free world, though it might take an adroit man to fit the Jimenez regime to the definition.

High Cost of Segregation

We offer, free of charge, the following suggestion as a subject for a doctoral thesis: The High Cost of Segregation in the South. Certain elements of this financial calculation are obvious: a double school system; separate toilets, restaurants and bars in transport terminals (an official of Southeastern Greyhound Lines notes that it costs 50 per cent more to build terminals with segregated facilities); separate entrances to movie houses; separate washrooms, cafeterias, drinking fountains in factories, etc., etc. But there are other costs no less great because they are less obvious. The *Wall Street Journal* tells of the purchase by Scripto, Inc., pen manufacturers, of forty acres in an Atlanta, Georgia, industrial zone for plant expansion. Then whites in a nearby residential area objected to the project because large numbers of Negro employees would have to pass through their streets to and from work. Result: litigation costs, time lost, a re-zoning of the district to prevent the plant expansion, and a resale of the forty acres by Scripto at a $14,000 cash loss. Or take the case of a development board which finally persuaded a clothing manufacturer to settle in a small Georgia town. The project meant 200 jobs and an annual payroll of a half-million dollars. Then the town discovered the manufacturer intended to hire Negroes exclusively. Result: the town is still pure white, and the factory is elsewhere.

How many manufacturers are staying out of the South because of race tensions? W. Cooper Green, vice president of Alabama Power Company, told the *Wall Street Journal*: "We've been working with seventy-five prospects. If any of them are holding back on the integration-segregation issue, I don't think they'd tell us. If the news ever leaked out, it would be very bad publicity for them in the South, where they have customers."

We are reminded that the voters of Alabama, by popular referendum, recently voted in favor of gerrymandering out of existence Macon County, home of Tuskegee Institute. The idea is to destroy the concentrated political strength of Macon County's Negroes, who outnumber the whites (see City Planning, Dixie Style by Dora Byron, *The Nation*, October 12). How much did the state referendum cost? How much is it going to cost the white businessmen of Tuskegee and surrounding areas, whose shops are now being boycotted in protest by Negroes? As a Tuskegee Negro put it, "If they don't want our vote, why should they have our money?"

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WHO WON at NATO? . . *by Geoffrey Barraclough*

London

THE ATLANTIC CONFERENCE turned out, after all, much as we had thought. "Western Europe not expected to frustrate U.S. wishes," the headlines told us as the delegations assembled. And in the event, Western Europe has not frustrated U.S. wishes. But the course of proceedings nevertheless got out of step, and we may suspect that Mr. Dulles had more than one headache before it was all over. It was, of course, the second day that produced the excitement. After the first session the ticker tapes rushed out a confident Yes. But at the close of the second session a bewildered world, sharply divided between angry resentment and incredulous relief, jumped to attention as the newspapers told of disagreement at high level and predicted a possible No. It was too wildly improbable to be true. By the third day the ranks were closed, the verdict was Yes, and it only remained to draft and to issue the usual high-sounding agreement "in principle." Meanwhile the so-called "Charter of Paris" has appeared, President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles have held forth on radio and television, and we are left to grope through the barrage of words to the intractable realities beneath.

If you take the results of the conference at face value, and keep to the surface of events, it is probably true that you can make of them what you will. Emphasize the first and final sessions, and you may say that the Suicide Club has met and solemnly decided to commit hari-kari. Emphasize the unexpected course of events on the second day, and you may say that the Western worm has turned—not very much, it is true, but at least it has writhed and twisted in its agony—and may turn some more. If your mind happens to work that way, you may even say that the Western powers, after a shocking exhibition of cold feet, have recovered their senses, and all will be well after all. All these interpretations are possible because the agreements reached at Paris were agreements on principle and general policy which have still to be tested in practice; and the real test will come when they have to be put into operation. Then, and only then, shall we discover which of the conflicting forces and tendencies so plainly present throughout the Paris meeting are the stronger.

That does not mean that all we have to do is to sit back and wait. On the contrary, those who saw a gleam of hope and reason in the momentary resistance to Mr. Dulles' bulldozing had better realize that they are at the beginning of the road, and not at the end. The testing time lies between now and March, when the next NATO meeting is scheduled to take place; and it depends in large degree upon world opinion what the outcome will be. That world opinion produced even a moment's pause in the streamlined proceedings at Paris was pretty remarkable; but of course it was not enough. Meanwhile we must recognize frankly that the decisions taken at the conference have tipped the scales in the opposite direction. We must not underestimate them because they are only decisions "in principle," subject to future contingencies. Unless positive action is taken to reverse the trend, it is only a question of time before all the paraphernalia of nuclear war is assembled in position, ready for a flat-footed general to stumble over an irreversible trigger.

THE FULL implications of what the Paris conference was asked to do, and has done "in principle," are still not often realized. To describe it in the usual formula as "adapting the Atlantic Alliance to the Missile Age" is a gross understatement: what it amounts to, in fact, is a total transformation of NATO. When NATO was first brought into being, in response to the shock administered to the West by the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, it was patently a defensive alliance, and its strength lay in its defensive character. It was this fact, and this fact alone, which made it generally acceptable to the Western European peoples. Today, this is no longer the case. Intermediate-range ballistic missiles, with a radius of action of 1,500 miles, cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called defensive weapons. They are weapons of retaliation which add nothing to the security of the countries housing them, but evidently add greatly to their perils. Armed with 1,500-mile missiles, in other words, NATO automatically ceases to be a defensive and becomes an offensive alliance; this revolutionary idea of making NATO into an offensive weapon has provoked a crisis of conscience in Europe.

IT WOULD be totally wrong to regard this reaction as a result of Russian propaganda. Long before Bulganin launched his barrage of notes and letters, a wave of profound uneasiness was spreading throughout Western Europe and, in particular, throughout Germany. Nor was it, as some American commentators have tried to argue, a new wave of "neutralism" and "defeatism" spreading from a pink-hued Left. What is significant is the way the movement spanned the whole political gamut. In England alone it was something of a phenomenon when the right-wing *Sunday Times* featured a series of world maps to illustrate "the outdated American defense strategy," and the *Daily Express* let loose its heaviest artillery on "The Maginot Mentality, 1958." More important, perhaps, was the initiative of the London *Times,* which carried three leading articles in one week, the gist of which was that "the forward deployment of the present IRBM"—in other words, the establishment of intermediate-missile bases close to the Iron Curtain—is not necessary "for the security of the West."

Behind all this lay a profound doubt as to the motives behind the new program. It seemed to stem—as, in sober fact, it did stem—from

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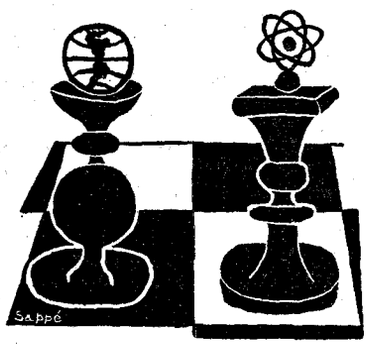
the distraught and hysterical fears which the launching of the Russian sputnik let loose in the State Department, not from rational calculation of the needs of the situation. But the sputnik was not a new factor from a European point of view. We in Europe have lived for five or six years in the knowledge that our own cities will be in the front line in any atom war; and the knowledge that the cities of the United States will now be there also—though to some Europeans it is certainly a matter of satisfaction—does not fundamentally alter the situation for us. If there was a sudden demand for a revolutionary change of military policy, it was not hard to conclude that the need it expressed was American rather than European. No doubt European calculations did less than justice to American motives; but the



evidence seemed to indicate that the purpose for which IRBM bases in Europe were required was not to defend Europe from attack but to deter the Russians from launching missiles against the American continent, and to retaliate if they did. Americans will be shocked to hear that this conception of interdependence left Europeans cold.

What reasons, after all, apart from the sputnik scare, were there for revolutionary changes in Western strategy? What, considering that intermediate-range missiles were not available and not likely to be available for a couple of years, was the new urgency in the situation? There was not the least sign that Russia was waiting poised to swoop on Europe with all the military potential at its command. On the contrary, the military threat had, if anything, receded into the background, and Russia seemed more willing than ever to observe the *status quo* in Europe while it developed its political program in Asia and the Middle East. Furthermore, there was no evidence that intermediate-range missiles would increase European security; on the contrary, the "general impression," as the *Times* pointed out, was that "even in the sputnik age" the West was already "over-insured rather than under-insured for nuclear deterrence." And, finally, would the alleged deterrents really deter? At this point even stalwart champions of NATO began to waver. If we in Europe thought the means were calculated to produce the desired end—if, in other words, we thought the reactivation of NATO by the deployment of strategic weapons would increase our security—few would hesitate to go through with it. The difficulty is that we think, on the contrary, that it is an old-fashioned and outmoded strategy, which will add to our insecurity. In other words, far from "deterring" Russia, a reinforced NATO equipped with 1,500-mile missiles is likely to act as an incitement, and perhaps even to provoke the very attacks which it is theoretically supposed to prevent. In any case, it stood in the way of a political settlement. This was the burden of Mr. George Kennan's by now famous "Reith Lectures," which made so profound an impression in Europe. It was not the weakness of NATO, Mr. Kennan argued, but its strength which put up Russian backs and made Russia unwilling to accept Western proposals for Europe's future.

These were the reasons behind European reluctance to commit itself all out to Mr. Dulles' proposals. The decision at Paris to explore ways and means to break the East-West deadlock and to reopen negotiations with the Russians—a decision certainly out of line with Mr. Dulles' thought—shows that they were not entirely without effect. That such a resolution was taken was undoubtedly a victory for world opinion. But it would be foolish to make too much of it. The way the proposal has been formulated suggests that it is there more for the record, and to placate European conscience, than with a view to real settlement. It would be surprising if it were to come to anything in practice. At most, it means that a door has been unexpectedly left open. But no one doubts that the real substance of the conference was the decision "in principle" to deploy IRBMs in Europe, and it is round this question that debate in the weeks to come will concentrate. Until the missiles are actually ready and available for use, no decision can be said to be final. The essential question for the future is whether military will override political objectives, or whether there is still time for a political settlement to halt military preparations.

ONE THING is already certain. The decisions "in principle" at the summit have not cleared the practical obstacles out of the way. Denmark and Norway from the start made it plain that they would not participate in the nuclear program, and at the time of writing it is evident that German opposition to missile bases has not been quelled. But the problems which the implementation of the summit decisions will bring to light, go deeper than this. European statesmen were not slow to perceive the implications of American insistence on a quick over-all decision. For the first time since the formation of NATO, they realized, the United States was more dependent on her allies than they on her; and they decided, with few exceptions, to make hay while the sun was shining. We do not yet know what went on behind locked doors in Paris; but it is obvious that there must have been some hard bargaining. Each country had, and still has, its own particular objectives. France, for instance, made it clear that it expected support in North Africa and a more powerful voice in NATO, if it was to play Mr. Dulles' game. But in addition to particular interests, there were serious and intractable problems of a general nature, of which we have not heard the last. Not least among these is finance; but political control (who, in other words, is going to release the trigger) and possession of the nuclear warheads also loom large.

A great deal has been made of these problems, and it would be an

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error to sweep them aside as unimportant. But the very course of the Paris proceedings shows that we should not emphasize them too much. If this is all, Mr. Dulles is likely to get his way in the end. The European powers may writhe and haggle, but their position is too weak for them to stand out for long. If there is to be a change, it will come through the pressure of world opinion on governments, and in particular from insistence that the proposed negotiations with Russia must be real negotiations. That means, first of all, that the West cannot dictate in advance the terms of negotiation, and then refuse to talk except upon those terms. We have already been told that if Russia refuses a new approach to disarmament on the basis set out by the West, the world will face a "balance of power through terror" as the only alternative. It is precisely that alternative that the world must resolutely refuse, because that way there is no hope. The reach for absolute security is an endless quest, a dangerous dream. The greatest peril inherent in the policy endorsed at Paris is that the reactivation of NATO with nuclear missiles will write "finis" to the existing chances of peaceful negotiations to reduce the danger of all-out war.

THESE chances are not negligible. Since 1955, though there have been many disappointments, East-West negotiations have gradually been reduced from comprehensive world-wide schemes to manageable proportions. No one today expects to sweep aside all issues in one great disarmament plan; but proposals such as those recently put forward by Poland, in conjunction with East Germany and Czechoslovakia, are hard-headed, clearly defined and practicable. What are the inhibitions preventing the West from testing them at face value? Present indications are that we are likely—if the NATO powers have their own way—to be lost again in endless discussions over the whole field of disarmament, resulting in another resounding failure with each side blaming the other. New political thinking simply was not on the agenda in Paris, and for that reason not only is the West unprepared for new discussions with Russia, but the political purposes of its military and strategic program remain obscure. The issues which were not discussed in Paris—such questions as the terms upon which the West would agree to a neutralization of Germany, or the concessions which NATO would be prepared to make in return for a Russian withdrawal from the satellite countries—were more important than those which were. It is for us to see that they now receive the thought and analysis denied them in Paris. This is a question for Americans as much as Europeans, for now that the United States is in the nuclear firing line, the handing out to all and sundry of the weapons which will unleash the nuclear deluge touches them as nearly as it touches us. At Paris, the real issues—that is to say, the political issues upon which peace and war depend—were side-stepped in the interests of fictitious unanimity, and NATO, piling up arms upon arms, is still without a policy. The task of the coming decisive weeks is to see that the political issues which NATO side-stepped are brought into the open and forced upon reluctant governments, before it is too late. It will not be easy to do, but it is the most important task of the new year.

MENACE of PAY-TV . . *by Dallas W. and Jennie N. Smythe*

ONE OF THE most skillfully conducted public-relations campaigns of modern times has brought pay-TV to the verge of acceptance. It is understandable that support for pay-TV should come from those whose self-interest would be served by it—namely, the writers, actors, directors and front offices of Hollywood and Broadway. For them and for sports promoters, the attraction is the tremendous revenue potential of box offices located in the living rooms of millions of American families who, on the average, spend five hours a day watching TV.

But without the support or at least friendly neutrality of intellectuals, pay-TV would have made little headway. Intellectuals, however, have fallen easy prey to the pay-TV merchants. This is regrettable on two counts. First, they have not pursued their own self-interest; second, they have failed to recognize their social responsibility for the welfare of the larger population of less education and sophistication.

Let us examine the self-interest of intellectuals, who are genuinely frustrated in their need for mature, original entertainment. They are offended by repetitive, formula-ridden material and resent being manipulated and cajoled by advertising. It is good that they feel this way. But such is their despair with the current product that they have grasped at the first alternative which seemed to promise Bach, Beethoven and Bartok concerts and "Broadway plays"—especially when it is suggested that pay-TV would be free of crass commercial announcements.

Looking only at the absolute economics of pay-TV, the "eggheads" are impressed by what they think are the advantages of the "box office" approach. It might be profitable, they say, for a pay-TV operator to broadcast a chamber music concert free of advertising. Because they would like to watch such a program, for a price, they conclude that pay-TV would be a worthwhile *addition*

DALLAS W. SMYTHE is research professor of communications at the University of Illinois. He has written extensively on current problems in the mass-communications media. His wife collaborated in the preparation of this article.

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to free TV. Let us, so they argue, pay for what we like; others could continue to enjoy free the $64,000 Question.

This line of reasoning has been skillfully spread by the pay-TV promoters. The facts, however, don't square with it. First of all, there is good reason to suppose that pay-TV would carry advertising just as does free TV. As *Life* said (on October 14): ". . . Once [pay-TV] gains wide acceptance, what is to prevent a franchise-holder from selling commercial time?" Occasionally, an advertising man says it more directly. William Lewis, president of Kenyon and Eckhardt, recently told a broadcasters club in Boston: "There is no reason why TV, like the print media, should not receive income both from commercial interests and the general public which the producers are serving."

Deprived of the lure of no-advertising, the intellectual falls back to what he thinks is more secure ground. Won't pay-TV provide finer entertainment than free TV? To this there are answers on several levels. One is: Look at the movies! There is no reason why even a big movie theatre couldn't cover its cost and make a profit by offering a film version of a La Scala performance. But how often do they?

THE more basic answer is that in our commercial culture, a box office attached to a mass-production line provides a mass-produced product. And pay-TV, when it uses the air waves, will have a built-in mass-production line just as does free TV. After all, the reason which makes the use of the air waves more attractive than wire lines to pay-TV promoters is the cheapness with which a broadcast signal can reach millions of homes.

"But," you may say, "if it is possible to broadcast profitably programs which would satisfy a minority audience, why would this not be done on pay-TV?" The answer is the same as that which must be given to the parallel question concerning the automobile industry. Why does Detroit not make cars like those European imports which appeal to minority automobile tastes because of their smallness, maneuverability and economy? Detroit could do so, and at a profit. The explanation lies at the root of mass production. Mass production is always concentrated on the product where the *largest* profit will be earned. Catering to a minority may yield a profit; it can never yield the largest profit.

Pay-TV may offer some genuinely cultural programs, especially at the outset, in order to cultivate the support of intellectuals who, by their acceptance of the new idea, may help to "sell" it to the general public. It may also offer cultural programs as "loss leaders" to ward off public criticism and control. But the staple article which pay-TV will offer will be determined, as one of its chief promoters frankly says, by the fact that "the arithmetic of low-cost mass distribution will also apply to subscription television."

IF PAY-TV offers—as it must under existing conditions—much the same sort of fare as is now provided by free TV, what happens to the latter? Will the public want to pay to see the same kind of entertainment they now receive free? Obviously not. But the conclusion does not follow that pay-TV will have to offer substantially different fare in order to be successful. *A more realistic conclusion is that the public will be given no choice but to pay for substantially the same thing it now receives free.* For talent would rapidly be removed from free TV by the inexorable process of the market-place. The clearest example is offered by sports programs. Already the Los Angeles Dodgers and the San Francisco Giants are unavailable for free TV, because the broadcast rights to their games have been bought by pay-TV promoters. Here the mere prospect (not the actuality) of pay-TV is depriving free TV of talent. As soon as sports events begin to be broadcast on pay-TV, they will be preempted generally for this market. The bait held out to the public by pay-TV promoters is that the occasional sporting event—a championship prize fight, for instance—not now available to free TV, would be brought to the living room screen for a reasonable price. While the cost of viewing these occasional events may be nominal, the *real* price will be the aggregate pay-TV expenditure for watching all the football, baseball, tennis, horse racing, basketball, golf and other sports which are now available free. Moreover, even the *radio* broadcast of sports events will stop in order to protect the market for pay-TV broadcasts.

As for sports, so with the most popular TV dramatic shows. *Gunsmoke* now is the most widely watched regular TV program. Its star (James Arness), its producer and its writers will inevitably withdraw from free TV if larger profits are in prospect from pay-TV. This siphoning process follows from the fact that pay-TV will be in a position to outbid free broadcasting for talent. For example, in the spring of 1957, *Gunsmoke* was watched in more than 13.5 million homes each week. The sponsors paid $38,000 for talent and $52,200 for station time, or a total of $90,200 per week. Now assume that only one-fourth, or 3,385,000 of the 13.5 million families who watched *Gunsmoke* weekly were equipped to receive pay-TV. Assume that only one-fourth, or 846,000, of the equipped homes bought *Gunsmoke* (on free TV the show had an audience rating of 36 per cent). Assume that the very moderate price of 25 cents was paid per viewing. This would yield a weekly gross of $212,000. Out assumptions have been conservative; yet the result is a gross pay-TV revenue more than twice as large as the present total cost to its sponsors of the free program.

THE crushing effect of pay-TV on free TV is discernible in other directions. Only about twenty cities in the United States have four or more TV stations. In all other cities, and in virtually all rural areas, the substitution of pay for free TV programs would preclude one or more of the networks from bringing free TV programs to the stations. The clearest illustration of this would be in the one-station community, where each hour of pay-TV operation would black out free TV for that hour. Free TV network programming de-

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pends on the availability of station time; this is what the networks basically sell to advertisers. If pay-TV spreads to the three-or-less-TV-station communities, it will cripple networks both because of station unavailability and declining audiences. Advertisers will turn from free to pay-TV or to other media. In addition to diverting programs, therefore, pay-TV would dry up the economic support of free TV. Faced with this prospect, the management of free TV networks would themselves go over to pay-TV.

WHAT THEN, do viewers stand to gain from pay-TV? Championship prize fights and perhaps some "first run" movies would become available to "middle-brow" and "low-brow" viewers. For the "eggheads," the main attraction would be the largely illusory expectation of genuinely cultural programs. To gratify this expectation, the egghead supporters of pay-TV seem ready to deprive the general public not only of the trite programs on free TV, but of the many finer programs which it also affords. Leaving aside entertainment such as *Peter Pan, Blithe Spirit,* NBC opera, etc., it is to be noted that free TV does produce *See It Now* and other programs in the area of public affairs, as well as many non-entertainment shows of outstanding value. Pay-TV could not be expected to provide as much of this kind of material. As CBS put it, ". . . While there are some advertisers who are interested in institutional advertising [to support such programs], there would be no coin-machine operators interested in institutional dimes when they can collect commercial dollars." In this connection the performance of the motion-picture theatres is revealing evidence of the almost total disinterest of box-office operators in cultural material for minority audiences. The intellectuals are evidently mistaken in expecting pay-TV to serve their unique needs.

They have also been oblivious to the hardship pay-TV would bring to the low-income part of the population. To say, as some do, that the "low-" and "middle-brow" groups needn't be deprived of their enter-

tainment, for they can buy it on pay-TV, is to reveal the essential vice of pay-TV. For it cynically assumes that what is for the low-income viewer a "free good" should be made over into an "economic good." Presently the total direct cost to the viewer of free TV is the sum of his set depreciation, service calls, replacement parts and electric-power —a total of about $80 per annum. That advertising (on TV and otherwise) may indirectly be paid for by the consumer is irrelevant. The consumers' cost of living would not be reduced by pay-TV.

WELL OVER half of all TV homes have incomes of less than $5,000. And *Life's* consumer-expenditure study in 1956 shows that the total expenditure for recreation and recreation equipment in households with incomes from $4,000 to $4,999 was $233 —with substantially smaller amounts for those with less income. The average household now spends much less than $100 a year on motion-picture attendance. No one knows just how much the middle- and lower-income groups would spend on pay-TV. But, with payment by the program, the individual and family pressures might well result in larger total expenditures on pay-TV than now go for TV set maintenance and depreciation plus motion-picture attendance. If as little as 25 cents an hour were paid for only half of the present average TV viewing time (more than five hours per day), the annual cost would be $228. Unless the intellectuals adopt a "let 'em eat cake" point of view, they must be concerned over the potential hardship pay-TV would visit on the non-egghead population.

If viewers stand to lose from pay-TV, who stands to gain from it? The answer is that the holders of the patents on the unscrambling devices necessary for pay-TV expect fabulous profits. Telemeter, a Paramount subsidiary, estimated two years ago that total pay-TV revenue in 1960 would be about $4.5 billion, assuming 75 per cent conversion and weekly payments per home of $2.50 (or a mere 36 cents a day). Of this total, perhaps one-third would go to the pay-TV operator as distinct from the TV *station* and the program producer.

Pay-TV would create an industry rivaling in size the Bell System, and it would inevitably be a monopoly. While presently three different systems are proposed, it is inconceivable that more than one would be authorized for commercial development in a country with as much population mobility as ours, and in light of the tradition of standardized engineering specifications for broadcast services. According to all three principal promoters, the operating plan would be like this: The patent-holder would license a local pay-TV operator. This operator, under the control of the patent-holder, would sell or rent encoding and decoding equipment to station viewers. He would buy time on the stations, determine what pay programs to broadcast, promote the business and collect revenues from the public. He would also pay license fees to the patent-holder. The patent-holder would establish a program distribution company which would become a nation-wide pay-TV program network.

Control of program policy and the profits which would go with a nation-wide monopoly of program *distribution* would thus rest with the patent-holder. It is quite correct to say, as pay-TV promoters often do, that the promoters would *not* monopolize program *production.* The program network would probably buy and distribute a substantial pro-

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portion of "independently produced" program material. But the pay-TV program monopoly would have the power to determine what Americans can view—and the unrestricted power to set prices as it pleased. In contrast to the stark monopoly of program distribution which pay-TV involves, the shortcomings of the three free TV networks look to many people like a relatively beneficent oligopoly.

We pointed out earlier that, where commercial stations are concerned, public service or educational material would have less chance than on free TV. What about educational stations? If the cost of education is to be assessed against the beneficiary of the education, educational TV stations could follow the pattern of private schools (except for the fact that the profit for the pay-TV patent-holder has no precedent in private schools). However, in view of the tax-supported public education tradition and the fact that the TV waves are public property, there is serious objection to placing a price tag on educational broadcasting. The objection is based on the fact that those who stand to benefit most from it may well be those least able to pay and least aware of the benefits to be derived from educational broadcasts.

PAY-TV would not help the UHF-TV stations. Their problems are soluble by more direct means. Nor is it likely that pay-TV will result in many "art theatre" type of stations.

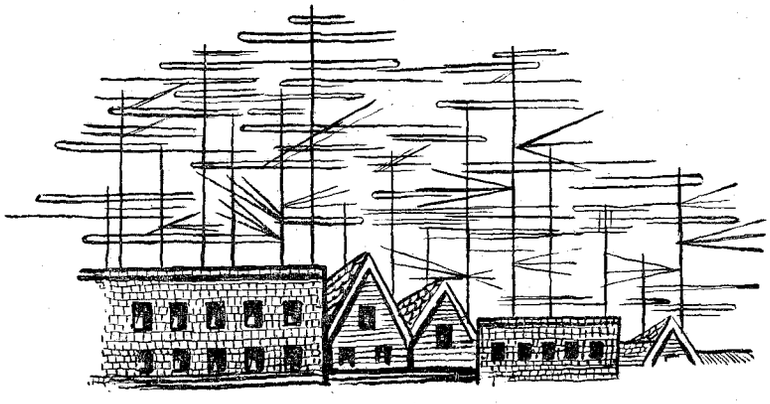
The principal economic characteristic of an "art theatre" is its relatively small physical plant costs and seating capacity, both conducive to long and profitable "runs" when word-of-mouth advertising produces a sustained audience flow. By its very nature, a TV station has a mass-market capacity for viewers. And the pressures, both from the mass-market side and from the patent-holder side, would make an "art-theatre" pay-TV station an anomaly.

THE putsch for pay-TV has been chiefly directed toward pay-TV on the airwaves. But while its promoters have pressed for the use of broadcast pay-TV, a less noticed development has provided an alternative more palatable to the public. Wired pay-TV has been planned for by some ninety-six applicants for franchises in some sixty-six cities. For quite different reasons, motion-picture theatre interests and two of the three promoters of broadcast pay-TV have pushed it. Wired TV involves distributing programs from a central location by telephone cables directly to the TV receiver in the home. It does not displace any broadcast station because there are enough unused channels in every TV receiver to permit the reception of both free and wired pay-programs.

Since last September, the first actual wired TV system has been operating in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, where twenty-six different films are delivered for twelve hours a day for a monthly price of $9.50 per home. Half of these films are first-run and half re-runs. Whether charged for on a monthly or per-attraction basis, the same plan is contemplated for sports as well as movies. Skiatron (which has bought TV rights for both the Dodgers and the Giants) and Paramount's Telemeter have been active in obtaining franchises and making other preparations for using wired TV.

Wired TV has many advantages for the public as compared with broadcast pay-TV. It would offer competition to free TV without preempting the channels or disrupting the structure of station-network relations. Because cables can carry not one but three or four simultaneous programs, wired TV offers much more service than broadcast pay-TV. The technical quality of wired TV pictures is superior to that of broadcast TV. Wired TV requires no complex encoding or decoding equipment and avoids the many problems created by building a decoder into the home receiver. It would thus avoid the tendency towards monopoly in TV-set maintenance which broadcast pay-TV threatens. Possibly most attractive is the fact that whereas a nation-wide program monopoly would rest on the patents for encoder-decoder equipment for broadcast pay-TV, the equipment for wired TV is readily available, requires no exclusive patents and would permit competition. While capital investment for both wired and broadcast pay-TV will be enormous, the public would have to put up directly a large part of the sums required for broadcast pay-TV (through purchase and installation charges for decoders), while the promoters of wired TV would have to bear the risks attending the large investment in cable lines. While wired TV would compete for program material against free TV, there would not be the fast siphoning process which preemption of broadcast channels would trigger. As a result of the greater cost of wire-line operation, competition for program material would also be reduced by a lesser ability to outbid free TV. And the public, especially the low-income public, would be protected considerably against the dangers of a wired TV monopoly by the continued availability of free TV service.

The Bartlesville wired TV experiment already demonstrates that the airwaves are not necessary for pay-TV. Indeed, by developing wired TV plans of their own, two of the three chief promoters of broadcast pay-TV



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have undercut the case for it. Congressman Celler and others have introduced bills to prohibit the use of broadcast frequencies for pay-TV. Nevertheless, in October, the Federal Communications Commission authorized trials of broadcast pay-TV over a three-year period, with the proviso that no licenses would be granted prior to March, 1958. These trials would be limited to some twenty cities, each having four or more TV stations. Hearings are scheduled on the Celler bill this month and it is quite possible that Congressional action may stop the broadcast pay-TV trials before they can be started.

THOSE concerned with a resolution of the pay-TV issue in the public interest must rely on Congress. For the FCC has abdicated its responsibility. It has not held an evidentiary hearing, without which no equivalent revolutionary change has ever previously been authorized in *any* broadcast service. Instead, it has given a green light for "experiments" which Congressman Celler correctly says must "be regarded as potential commitment to a course from which there may be no return."

STATE of the UNIONS . . *by J. B. S. Hardman*

I. "That Man" Meany

IN 1952, George Meany became president of the American Federation of Labor. In 1953, the AFL expelled the International Longshoremen's Association, the New York waterfront union, found to be corrupt and refusing to mend its ways. This was the first action of this kind in the federation's seventy-year history.

George Meany masterminded the proceedings, and thus initiated a trend which practically reversed, in the five years 1952-1957, what had been prevalent top-leadership attitude toward union corruption for most of the preceding fifty years. That old attitude was *neutralist*, in a way. While resolutions would be adopted in AFL conventions against sin and in praise of virtue, no action that mattered ever came from the federation's high command to eradicate specific evils. Here and there a federation affiliate would take steps against evildoers in its midst, generally when the wrongdoing occurred on a lower level of the pyramidal power structure of the respective unions, and top leadership was challenged or substantially embarrassed. When the virus infected the top leadership of an affiliate, perhaps the angels in heaven knew it and wept; but the federation's chieftains predominantly did nothing, saw nothing, knew nothing. They did not have the constitutional power to intrude into a union's internal affairs, except by exerting moral suasion. That power, though, they seemed most reluctant ever to use.

Untouchability of the internal doings of affiliates by the AFL Executive Council or head officers was the federation's basic law, even as was the fear of, and opposition to, any governmental intervention into the unions' ways of life and behavior. These were the alpha and omega of the structural wisdom which Samuel Gompers, founder and lifelong president of the AFL, implanted in the union edifice which he helped erect. He would refer to the AFL as "a rope of sand," thus emphasizing its loose, unhinged build. Perhaps that rigorous observance of the principle of autonomy and of "no politics in the union" helped keep the federation in one piece, but it no doubt also accounted for its essential ineffectiveness during the Gompers regime and while his post-mortem influence continued.

George Meany put an end to all that, and it was the clear decisiveness of his course that "made" the recent AFL-CIO convention in Atlantic City and which rendered the Meany leadership indisputable. The measure of the man's view of what he wants the federation to be (and for that matter the whole of the movement) he put, long before the convention, in the plain words: I would rather have a smaller federation, but one clean of corruption. Of course, Meany's wasn't and isn't a "do-it-yourself" undertaking. Labor leadership, whether wise or otherwise, never is an Atlas-like task: many are called in to support the pillars of the labor universe. But the test of leadership in labor, as most anywhere, is the ability to induce co-leadership, to *lead* with the wise, to *drag* the stubborn and the reluctant. Meany amply demonstrated ability to perform that feat all through the difficult days of the AFL-CIO convention.

The man speaks directly, pointedly, without pretense or oratory; and his platform performance is refreshing by comparison with the preachy efforts which his predecessor, the amiable and inept William Green, was forever making, and a relief when one recalls the verbal flights into nowhere which Sam Gompers never tired of effecting. He does not "declare," or otherwise pontificate. He merely proceeds to say what is his opinion or judgment in the matter at hand. "I, too, have something to say about this," he began, when he intervened in one of the most exciting disputes of the convention. As convention oratory, that was almost shockingly simple; and Mr. Meany may never fully understand how grateful to him are those whose professional assignments obligate their ears to listen.

A notable example of plain speaking and hard, direct reasoning was what Meany told the Maritime Trades Department's convention when he recited the three-time failure of the AFL-launched Longshore-

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men's Brotherhood to unseat and uproot the ILA, which the federation had expelled under his leadership. Observing that under the pressure caused by the expulsion, and seeking to bolster their own position, those officers have been "doing a better job for their members." The plumber-philosopher concluded: "If that is so, then the only loss to the AFL-CIO is per capita tax. And if we have to decide between per capita tax and poor conditions in the union, and not getting per capita tax and the workers having a better deal, then I am for the better deal for the workers."

George Meany was speaking not to a mass meeting of longshoremen, but to leaders—including those who had endured that failure. There are unlikely to be many on the labor summit to take that kind of solace in defeat. George Meany is not a giant, but it is most remarkable that he does not appear to think he is one. He does not seem to be assuming that he is doing the Lord's work, only his own. So restrained a self-estimation may well contain the seed of a further rise in stature.

II. Rackets and Ethics

THE AFL-CIO verdict on "improper practices" of union officers was signed, sealed and delivered. The speedy and determined action by the union high command, first, and next by the recent convention, were models of performance "according to plan." The conviction and the sentencing of the culprits are now past history, but not so the phenomenon of corruption. There remain afield and active the basic facts of life which induced the particular union leaders, who were brought to book, to become "dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of union affairs by corrupt influences." The motive of self-enrichment, the opportunity presented by the exercise of power and control of office, the climate of the environment around the unions and within, are still with us. How do Messrs. Meany, Reuther, Hayes and their fellow-ethic'eers propose to combat "corrupt influences" which are unlikely to cease and desist because some racketeers have been moved beyond the pale of the righteous?

The answer is evidently given by making the six *Codes of Ethical Practices* the law of union life. The expulsion of the several unions and the suspension meted out to other unions whose leaders still are expected to do penance were based on the respective union officers' noncompliance with the prescripts of the codes which define the conduct unbecoming a union officer or leader.

Five of the six codes, and the policy statement which imposes sanc-

George Meany

tions on union officials who refuse to cooperate with authorized public agencies investigating alleged corruption in a union by invoking the Fifth Amendment, all aim at one primary purpose: "to keep unions free from any taint of corruption." The sixth code endeavors "to safeguard the democratic character of the labor movement." Even this, however, is clearly relevant to the pursuit of the all-abiding end of preserving honesty; for corruption thrives best when democracy is obstructed and perverted. There were ample reasons for the adoption of such codes.

At Atlantic City the discussion of the problem centered on the expulsion decisions, and "public opinion" privately expressed on the convention floor and in the lobbies indicated that making "ethics" stick is not a simple matter at all.

The expelled unions, notably the powerful, rich and industrially strategic Teamsters Union of 1,500,000 members, remain a clear and present danger. They will continue in business. It is not unlikely that they, too, may attempt to "do a better job by the members" and thus tighten the corrupt officers' hold on the union as did the earlier mentioned ILA, expelled as "corrupt" in 1953 but still doing a thriving business, better than ever. Hoffa may be out of circulation for a while, but a good many of the 2,000 teamsters' "porkchoppers" who are of the Hoffa, Brewster, Beck culture will not vanish, and their continuing prosperity is likely to be a powerful inducement to emulation by other unions. The example set by the expellees may serve merely to caution emulators to act more circumspectly and to effect a more equitable distribution of the emoluments of office in the union periphery; members are no less human than officers. That could make purification difficult. Unless the members of the unions are widely sold on "ethical practices," the codes may come to share the fate of the "noble experiment." This, in turn, touches upon the state of internal union democracy which, frequently enough, is in not too sound a condition, and this again casts a shadow over the future of the cleaning venture. The code on the "union democratic process" carries no sanctions on violators. Where the democratic process lags, complaints of violations, under the rule of union autonomy, are likely to be heard before the same officers whose failure to combat—and, on occasion, actual promotion of—boss-rule may be accountable for the democratic arteriosclerosis. They would constitute the court of last resort.

A weak spot of the reform is the unfortunate selection of the title "Ethical Practices Committee." The use of the Sunday Bible-class term "ethical" instead of something simpler and hard-hitting like "dishonest" carries an unctuosity, a holier-than-thou impress and tends to evoke nasty sneers rather than indignation among unionists below the rank of "labor statesmen." Unions are not ethical culture societies. They are integrated compounds of the interrelated elements of a bargaining en-

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terprise, a battling force, a "politicking" undertaking and a contender for power in the power-oriented American dynamic equilibrium. In the mind of a New York subway motorman, or of a Pittsburgh steelworker, or of a textile or a mine worker, the reference to "ethical practices" is more likely to conjure up the image of a "gent in striped trousers and spats" rather than that of his business agent who is rough perhaps, swears at times too energetically, but deals squarely with the members and carries on the business of the union effectively and honestly. It is the cultivation of the latter type of officer which is the cardinal aim the codes seek to realize: honesty in low and high office.

In advancing the course of the reform, the high command was at pains to make it clear that they were not bringing down a new covenant from some recently discovered Mt. Sinai. The *Supplementary Report* on the several *Ethical Practices Cases* (meaning unions administered by crooked officers) submitted by the Executive Council to the convention spelled it out that "the Codes are not . . . enactment of new laws. . . . For the most part they represent reiterations of principles and illustrate examples of trade union morality under which the labor movement has always operated . . . they merely are restatements of traditional practices."

The resolution of the convention, which ratified the codes as promulgated, stated that the codes were not intended to be "all-inclusive," that they represented "a minimum requirement for honest and clean unionism . . . intended to be illustrative." It went on to say that some practices may be "unethical" and "not consistent with honest trade unionism" even though not specifically "forbidden" by the respective code.

The AFL-CIO seeks to guard against union officers and leaders, at all levels, acting unethically rather than to commit them to some "ethical practices," to unspecified good deeds. But "honest unionism" surely implies more than not stealing money, even as "not racketeering" leaves the abstainer quite a distance from being "ethical." There runs through the codes an assumption that there exists an accepted and definable union "ethic," and that is true, although the term is hardly appropriate. Though a useful grammar or lexicon of corruption is no more conceivable than a handbook of virtue, the mere references to traditional union morality are too vague to evoke a rush to Armageddon to battle for the Lord.

The vagueness leaves, on the one hand, room for evasion, particularly so when the effort is piloted by competent union-retained legal counsel. On the other hand, the lack of spelling out of what is meant by "clean, honest unionism" gives the unionist supreme court an exploitable power leverage without built-in protection against abuse of that power.

THE latter point was stressed by the presidents of two unions, the International Typographical Union and the Upholsterers International Union, Woodruff Randolph and Sol Hoffman respectively. Both men and their organizations are reputed to be among the movement's cleanest and most democratic. Holding no brief for the teamsters' leaders, they voted against the expulsion of the Teamsters Union. The ITU president argued that while the promotion of codes by the Executive Council may have been legitimate, the issuance of directives and making these mandatory was an unwarranted usurpation of power, "an attempt to control the internal affairs of the unions . . . a complete reversal of the fundamental right of unions to control their own affairs . . . [leading to] a dictatorship of thirty men over the American labor movement." Supporting the need of fostering "a labor union consciousness of the old school," Mr. Randolph argued that "where reformation is needed, that will have to come from the bottom up and not from a mandate from the top." He did not concern himself with the experience of the past that non-intervention from above had substantially, although not intentionally, facilitated the development of corruption in several autonomous affiliates.

The upholsterers' Mr. Hoffman recited the heavy sacrifices his own organization made to "drive out the Communist infiltrator, the crook and the sell-out artist" and acknowledged the merit of "the cleanup purposes of the Executive Council," but he would not make peace with the procedure. "We now face the fact," Mr. Hoffman submitted, "that the Executive Council not only acts as a grand jury to develop and place the charges, but it then designates some of its members to act as prosecutors and judges combined in the Ethical Practices Committee. Finally, these same men must then, with their minds already made up, sit here, not with a single vote, but with many votes, to cast their ballots in this convention as members of the final jury." Delegates cast votes computed by the numbers which their unions have. He referred to the experience of his own organization:

> Years ago our union found this wrapping of judge, jury and prosecutor in the same persons to be intolerable in processing charges against our own members. We revamped our laws to give the function of judge to a legally skilled neutral person. We gave to an independent committee of prominent citizens the function of a court of ultimate appeal. It is not reassuring to us or to the American people that only one other union—albeit it a large and powerful one—has seen fit in four years' time to follow our example.

There was no evident response to Mr. Hoffman's pertinent point that the ultimate resort to use of power, lest it become abuse, needs a check outside the powerholder's discretion. Sooner or later, however, the unresolved problem will have to be met.

However serious these criticisms of the AFL-CIO's new course, the convention's decisions denoted a vastly significant improvement on the past policies by which the old movement's central authority was guided in the relevant matters. Rackets were not destroyed in the confrontation, but they were severely beaten. And while "ethics" is not yet triumphant, the urge towards "clean, honest unionism" has been given a forceful lift.

There remains, though, the need of somehow defining the dividing line between what is clean and hon-

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est unionism and what is not quite that, where corruption ends and integrity, not mere market-honesty, begins.

III. An Emerging Synthesis

IT IS TOO soon to discern the contours of the change which American unionism is undergoing. But there is significant change in progress. Perhaps that wistful lady's observation, "Oxford is no longer the same, indeed it never was," fits labor even better. Clearly labor is off the neutral point; even though only speculation is possible on the direction of the change, judgments are made from straws in the wind:

1. The age-long shibboleth of internal union *autonomy* was pierced. The passionate arguments of the clean printers against expelling the corruptly-led Teamsters Union failed to carry conviction. Their stand was motivated by the fear that the precedent of intervention from above, once established, may some day come to plague their own union. The logic of the reasoning, as such, was indisputable. Autonomy has its merits. But in the realities with which unions must cope, autonomy needs to be limited. A powerless central labor leadership is unavoidably a powerless labor movement. Not even the printers can afford to contemplate it. And still less can the other unions, not quite as much enshrined in the protective features of craft as are the printers, make do without strong central leadership.

There is every reason to fear abuse of power, but having no power is not the remedy. The call is for devising effective checks and balances to keep power in balance, and also for revitalization of the democratic process within the unions. The lost art of competition for leadership on all levels needs to be found and put into practice. Union autonomy is not at a dead end. But its originally conceived scope and functioning methods, perhaps then justified and serviceable, need to be revised and harmonized with the new circumstances in which labor functions if it is to live on effectively.

2. The dubious faith in *jurisdictional exclusivism* is facing its trial in experience, no respecter of age and tradition. Agonized clinging to what "was good for granddad" erupted in deafening pre-convention threats by the moguls of the building trades that they would withdraw from the merged AFL-CIO if their antique rights on skilled mechanics in the industrial unions were not forthwith restored. These outcries turned dead silent in the twilight hour on the convention's eve. Not a change of heart, but calculated fear of the imminent danger of isolation caused their falling in line. George Meany cited to the enraged craftists the facts and the figures of the time of the 1935 split:

> We talked of jurisdiction. Did we try to organize the skilled people in our trade who worked in plants? We did not. My union [the plumbers] was a closed union. It didn't take in new members. It had a closed-shop agreement with a closed association of employers. When we had industrial work crop up that we felt we should do, we made an effort to get that work for our contractors. We wouldn't work for anyone but our own contractors. We didn't want the people that were on the work. We merely wanted the work.

Walter Reuther could not have made a more telling argument for the rise of the CIO. Incidentally, Reuther's UAW granted their skilled mechanic-members the right of direct bargaining on terms of their employment. For what is live and valid about jurisdiction and craft the originally CIO union cannot in good

sense deny, and what is not so the originally AFL men cannot secure. The Riot Act was read to the claimants by Mr. Meany. They cannot expect more than what a reasonable negotiated adjustment would yield and they would get precisely nowhere by threats of violence, he told them, and reiterated the several-months-old compromise proposals which he had worked out and which the building trades leaders had spurned, adding:

> I don't say it is a perfect plan. I am perfectly willing to see if we can't make it more acceptable. The CIO members of the committee are willing to discuss this thing further and see if there is not some way of settlement.
>
> In meeting this problem let's look at it realistically.
>
> There are thousands of men in industrial unions who have craft skills but who do not get into craft unions. Maybe it was because they couldn't get in. Maybe it was because they didn't want to get in. I am not trying to assess the blame. I am not trying to say what should have been done thirty years ago.
>
> But I am saying that this problem can be solved by intelligence, determination and devotion to the ideals of the trade union movement.
>
> It cannot be solved by labor fighting labor.

That clinched it. They stayed in. The building trades unions and the teamsters were the controlling force in the old AFL. The largest part of the votes against the expulsion of the teamsters was cast by the building trades, the carpenters' 750,000 votes standing out. The vote was due to old ties in part. It was sympathy partly conditioned by the fact that some of these unions are scheduled to journey to the Senate committee purgatory, as the teamsters had done and still continue doing. The cementing force of jurisdictional outlook and interest which made the building trade unions the dominant power in the old AFL has ceased to be a decisive factor in the merged federation. The AFL-CIO is essentially operated by the broad needs of unionism as a whole, or mostly so.

3. The time-honored negative attitude of labor toward *government regulation* or supervision of any and

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all union activities is likewise changing. The economic interests of labor all too often and so thoroughly tangle with legislation and hence with political action that the old political isolation ward is no longer habitable. While continuing to vow eternal opposition to any regulation, certain kinds of regulation are even welcomed. Thus the AFL-CIO favors legal and governmental controls of welfare and pension funds, whether operated by unions, by employers or jointly. A positive attitude was also taken toward the filing of union financial reports and allowing their public inspection. Underlying is a recognition that unions are human institutions and not infallible, and, by implication at least, that union leaders too are below divine status. The portent is in the direction of an eventual institution of effective defense-mechanisms to deal with intra-union conflicts of members and officers. The idea articulated in the earlier quoted statement of UIU president Hoffman was not formally noted, but it was not just sound. The technique of processing internal power disputes by an outside, independent public Review Board was set up by the 1,250,000-member UAW last summer. The issue of internal union democracy and fair play is not thus fully met, but a start is being made.

4. AFL-CIO unity was two years old on the opening day of the Atlantic City convention. The merger was two years ago a marriage of convenience motivated not so much by desire of bride and groom to live together as by the disturbances of continued living apart. Dave Beck's empire-building schemes, before his attention was absorbed by embezzlement of union funds, were making it difficult for George Meany to free the AFL of the languor which Bill Green had breathed into it. David McDonald, having inherited the steel union Phil Murray built, felt that the CIO too was due as part of the legacy, and he did what he could to obstruct Walter Reuther's progress. John L. Lewis, for the devil of it, was monitoring the two novices in the game. Thus merger came into being. It now is a solid pact: considerations of survival, not merely convenience, have sealed the marriage. The CIO, which entered as pretty much a junior partner, its then stationary 4,000,000 members unimpressive against the AFL's affiliation of 10,000,000 and advancing, is now justified in viewing the emblem AFL-CIO as expressing equality of status. Measured in terms of organized cohesion, the merger has not yet gone far below the high-command level. Very few unions that function in like jurisdiction thus far have merged their organizations. On the local and state levels more still remains to be done than has been accomplished. But not even the most reluctant entrants into the unity pact any longer dare contemplate dissolution. Continuing unity of the AFL-CIO is now a set fact of life, even if the recorded instances of unification do not document this.

The emerging profile of labor on the move indicates a greater than hitherto clarity of purpose and advancing social responsibility. It is fair to note that the best brains in labor think ahead; enough of them to matter take cognizance of what is developing in life, society and the social order. There is no telling thus far to what extent the periphery is prepared, or whether it is being prepared, to effectuate the declarations made atop.

LETTERS

(*Continued from inside cover*)

before I surrender my copy to a friend in Santa Cruz. Usually the proposals for peace are so involved and complex that the reader gives up in despair. However, Professor Mills makes the facts so simple and so apparent that anyone can understand them. I think this is an article that should be sent to every one of our Congressmen, every man in public life—and let's be done with the mad theory that we must continue to arm to the teeth.

ETHEL COHEN

Oakland, Calif.

Chapman as Ku Kluxer

Dear Sirs: After reading the reviews of *The Selected Writings of John Jay Chapman*, edited by Jacques Barzun, in various publications, I had hoped that *The Nation's* would prove less laudatory and more pertinent to today's readers. Unfortunately, my friend Mel Bernstein (*The Nation*, November 9) neglects to mention that Chapman brought his "passionately lucid, humanist-trained intelligence" to the service, ultimately, of a venomous and disreputable anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism.

I have no quarrel with those who wish to enshrine Chapman as a great thinker. But I do feel that the readers of *The Nation* should not accept Chapman as a liberal and a democrat—as many will, since Barzun nowhere alludes to the vicious hatreds of his later years —without also being told of his almost monomaniac hatred of Jews and Catholics.

It also seems germane to inquire how a man who possessed "a conviction of the truth" could lend himself to adopting the principles of the Ku Klux Klan.

HERSH L. ADLERSTEIN

Buffalo, New York

The Reviewer's Reply

Dear Sirs: I share with Mr. Adlerstein his explicit concern for the reliability and fairness of *The Nation's* printed judgments on the world we live in.

I did not raise the question of Chapman's few anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish writings because (1) of space limitations; (2) they were not raised in Barzun's preface or in the anthologized selections; and (3) they are regrettable but minor aberrations exaggerated by those who have not read Chapman.

His anti-Romanist position had an intellectual basis; he openly, in print, opposed the political machinations of corporate Christianity with its explicit prohibitions on the idea-searching, book-reading mind. He wrote that it was a perversion of Hebraism. Like Henry Adams, he erred in fearing the "international Jewish conspiracy" and temporarily succumbed to the 110 per cent Americanism of men like Gino Speranza.

His friendship with Isaac H. Klein, his defense of Captain Dreyfus (see *The Political Nursery*), his understanding of the Old Testament and the Hebrew genius (please read *Notes on Religion*, 1915; *Letters and Religion*, 1924) efface the impulsiveness of his one-time recourse to the *Ku Klux Kourier*.

As a Jew fortunately familiar with Jewish values, as an American unfortunately familiar with anti-Semitism, I honestly want to preserve the utility of the former and not protect the ugliness of the latter.

MELVIN H. BERNSTEIN

Alfred, New York

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Imposed Revolutions

FORCED TO BE FREE. By John D. Montgomery. University of Chicago Press. 209 pp. $4.50.

Kay Boyle

MORE than a decade ago, two figures emerged from the chaos of hot war, unconditional surrender and military occupation, and took their places in the foreground of our times. One was the German man-in-the-street, and the other his Japanese counterpart. Both, non-revolutionaries by nature and by tradition, were being asked to function within the framework of the political and economic revolutions imposed upon them by defeat. In time, we have become so accustomed to the presence of those two figures that their outlines have lost their sharpness, and the meaning of their persistent waiting has become obscured. The questions they have posed in almost total silence have ceased to seem vital to us, for livelier manifestations of social disruption have an appearance of greater urgency. John D. Montgomery's book is a well-documented reminder that those two figures still loom large in the immediate foreground of our political and historical landscape, and that their importance as test-cases in what he terms "the new outlook in American foreign policy" cannot be overestimated.

Dr. Montgomery, a young political scientist who is at present in Saigon as chief of the Academic Institution Section of Michigan State University's Vietnam Project, conducted field studies in Japan and Germany from 1952 to 1954 under the sponsorship of a military government research program; the book itself was written on a Guggenheim Fellowship. It is based on case material collected in Japan and Germany, but individual case histories have been excluded, in order "to facilitate the presentation of a reasonably intelligible and manageable essay." Despite this disciplined, even restrictive, approach, the two stubborn figures who seek an answer are alive on every page. It is to them, as well as to his fellow-countrymen, that Montgomery is speaking when he writes that "the greatest weakness in the mechanics of artificial revolution is the absence of revolutionaries." And it is again a portion of the answer to them when he says that "when popular revolutions were precipitated in East Germany and Hungary partly as a result of official and unofficial American actions, our embarrassment became acute in spite of our profound sympathies. If Americans are not imperialists, they are likewise not revolutionaries." But he adds that "serious students of politics have an obligation to assess this aspect [the theory and practice of artificial revolution] of the dynamics of democracy, so that the American people can decide whether the best course for the future is greater self-restraint or a more intelligent proselytizing of our political faith."

MONTGOMERY points out that neither in Germany nor in Japan has a people's revolution ever dislodged "either the concept of an élite or its privileges, nor did the defeats of 1944-45 bring any form of popular protest against privilege. In both countries, the ruling élite had to be removed artificially, if at all. . . ." The method of removal differed in the two countries. While the Japanese purge was confined to the leaders, the German denazification apparatus was designed to sift and screen the entire population. In his assessment of the results, Montgomery again speaks out of an awareness of individual responsibility to those two unanswered men. "Any comparison of efforts with results in the two countries," he writes, "would redound to the advantage of the program whose objectives were the more modest. . . . The German occupation was conducted under a shower of moralistic words and grandiose objectives, while in Japan, apart from the strutting pomposity of a few generals, the program was carried out in a realistic and matter-of-fact way." Thus the occupation of Japan resulted in at least a modicum of success, Dr. Montgomery believes, due in great part to the Ladenjinsky land reform and to "a specific and carefully aimed purge of business and industrial leadership." While in Germany, where the aims were higher and the scope far broader, only a few structural changes in government seem to have endured. Montgomery cites as an example that by 1948 "there were more Nazi party members occupying leading positions in the bi-zonal postal administration than during the Nazi regime itself."

But why, it may well be asked, does a book which seeks to assess occupation procedures as guidance for present and future American foreign policy deal with the purge of the élite in Japan and with denazification in Germany to the almost complete exclusion of all other aspects? The answer is both extremely simple and extremely sad. In our haste to create a unified front against the Communist threat, only these negative devices were put into effect, and then only for a limited time. "The abandonment of important political and economic reforms in the face of Communist competition," writes Dr. Montgomery, "did not speak well for the strength of Western convictions about democracy and economic freedom." And thus, "the possibility of exporting democracy by introducing institutional changes on a nation-wide basis remains unexplored."

But if a study of the Western occupation of Germany and Japan must be restricted to an examination of the purge and the denazification process, still the depth and breadth of that examination will indicate the scope of the author's vision. In the modesty of his ap-

KAY BOYLE, whose Thirty Stories *was published earlier this year, lived in Germany from 1948 to 1953.*

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proach, and in his scrupulous concern to stay with the facts, Dr. Montgomery further circumscribes the area of deliberation. The curtailment is particularly evident in the absorbing chapters, "The Merchant Princes" and "They Purchase Great Alliance." A few brief references made to "the artificial revolution" as opposed to the Marxist permanent revolution cry out for amplification. "Revolution by force now possesses a destructive potential so dreadful that it can no longer be responsibly considered as a legitimate means of introducing political change," Montgomery writes, and his conviction is clearly in line with that of Raymond Aron and other astute thinkers of our time. But our concern here is with the potential value of man when manipulated in a revolution that is totally alien to his beliefs and his experience, and the value of a vision of human dignity grafted like a borrowed retina onto his sight. Even though we may reach no conclusions concerning these contingencies, still we are eager for a full inquiry into all that they imply.

Nevertheless, Dr. Montgomery's book was urgently needed, not only because of the specific information that gives it authority but because of the author's appreciation of the dilemma with which we are faced. Recently, Hans J. Morgenthau wrote: "History will judge us by the standards of individual and collective excellence for the sake of which this country has come into the world. If we maintain them, it will forgive us that we have not been the first to shoot a dog into outer space." It is with the maintaining of this individual and collective excellence that Dr. Montgomery is concerned, and with the question, not of "how to avoid influencing other nations, but how to ensure that such influence as we may have will be consistent with our highest ideals and purposes."

Strained Conclusions

THE COURT AND THE CASTLE. By Rebecca West. Yale University Press. 319 pp. $3.75.

LITERATURE AND THE IMAGE OF MAN. Sociological Studies of the European Drama and Novel, 1600-1900. By Leo Lowenthal. Beacon Press. 242 pp. $4.95.

Jacob Korg

THE COURT AND THE CASTLE is a series of critical observations about various literary works held loosely together by a concern with how great writers from Shakespeare to Kafka have treated the problem of salvation. Miss West begins with the interesting theory that the king in Shakespeare's plays is fated to misuse the power he possesses, yet the usurper who stands ready to unseat him is invariably evil. Noting that this paradox of power does not seem relevant to actual political life, Miss West confesses that she would not be at all surprised if Shakespeare thought of his kings as symbols of the will, of their courts as symbols of personality, and of the usurpers as symbols of the will's futile attempts to reform itself. She seems unaware that the pattern she has observed is a form of the institution of the dying god described in *The Golden Bough.* Instead she considers that Shakespeare's plays about royalty are protests against the Renaissance heresy that man is capable of achieving his own salvation. This interpretation may make Shakespeare a sound theologian, but it also makes him a very poor allegorist, because it involves the use of one symbol for the will itself and another for the will in a struggle to reform. The usurper is thus required to be an activity of the king and the symbolism obviously breaks down.

Miss West does not succeed, in her later chapters, in showing that such novelists as Jane Austen, Fielding, Thackeray and Trollope had much to say either about the relations of kings and courtiers or about the spiritual situation they are supposed to represent. As she herself seems to realize when she complains that the novel cannot reveal "deepest truth," English fiction was usually occupied, not with ultimate spiritual matters, but with problems of character and social life. A similar difficulty besets her attempt to impose a theological message upon Proust. She is bound to find Proust's handling of moral values unsatisfactory, because for Proust morality was merely subject-matter, not theme. It is on the whole a pity that Miss West should have devoted the charm and ingenuity displayed in *The Court and the Castle* to an ill-conceived attempt to harmonize some of the world's most unorthodox literature with the *Summa Theologica.*

MR. LOWENTHAL'S book resembles Miss West's only in its method of approaching literature from the rear in order to surprise it into unintended revelations. He is interested in formulating the social relationships reflected in the works of a number of leading European figures. He justifies the use of literature for this purpose by saying that an immediate sense of social experiences can be found only in the records made of them by great writers.

Mr. Lowenthal detects evidences of social orientation with impressive acuity and responsible scholarship, but most of his information is no more than the mildly interesting illustration of familiar historical facts. It is no more surprising that *Don Quixote* should reflect Renaissance independence of mind than that it should be written in Spanish. On the other hand, it cannot be claimed for most of the texts cited by Mr. Lowenthal that they constitute valid evidence of sociological developments. The romantic love that motivates Miranda in *The Tempest* may be characteristic of the modern autonomous personality, but her behavior is also found among Chaucer's characters. It is true that Ibsen's people often find the success they achieve to be decisive failure, but that does not make them "modern," for the careers of Shakespeare's Macbeth and Henry IV amount to the same thing. Mr. Lowenthal holds that one of the tirades of Sancho Panza's wife is rich in "post-medieval" attitudes, yet her insistence on the importance of domestic matters

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Let Them Ask Their Husbands

And if they will learn anything let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church. — I Corinthians 14:35.

In human need
of the familiar
I see God
woman-shaped

For God created
woman in her own image
and I have
my Pauline pride.

DILYS LAING

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and her contempt for the wisdom of the state are found among the rebellious women of *Lysistrata.*

THE danger of treating literature as though it were mere inert evidence of historical actuality, like the parish register, could not be better illustrated than by the contradictory analyses of *The Tempest* offered in these two books. Mr. Lowenthal, who is on safe ground here, regards Prospero as a figure of rational authority whose success demonstrates the value of knowledge. But to Miss West, who believes that Shakespeare was bent on showing that man could not be self-sufficient, Prospero is a tyrant whose power only corrupts his fallen soul.

The reason for this disagreement and for the difficulties encountered by studies of this sort is that the qualities that make a literary work great reduce its value as objective reportage. In its innocence of practical or sectarian motivations, a great work can be easily made to give almost any answer the investigator may need, especially when it is asked the wrong questions.

Jazz in Africa

Nat Hentoff

IT IS fair to say, as does Marshall Stearns in his *The Story of Jazz*, that jazz "is the result of a 300-years' blending in the United States of the European and West African musical traditions." More than 300 years passed, however, before a representative American jazz group returned "home" to hear and be heard. The first American jazz combo to play in West Africa was Louis Armstrong's in May, 1956. This was a brief display stand on the Gold Coast arranged by Edward R. Murrow to add color to his film, *The Saga of Satchmo.* Otherwise jazz bands, usually from France, had been seen and heard only in the north, in cities like Casablanca and Tunis.

The first extensive tour of the continent was undertaken by Wilbur de Paris and five sidemen from March 1 to June 1 of last year. The journey began in Ghana on the Gold Coast, included Nigeria and Liberia, moved south to French Equatorial Africa and the Belgian Congo, east to Kenya, northeast to Ethiopia and Sudan, and nearly closed the circle in the north in Tunisia and Morocco. The de Paris expedition was underwritten by the State Department with ANTA (the American National Theatre and Academy) acting, as usual, as contracting agency for the International Exchange Series.

In selecting de Paris as an example to the Africans of how an American Negro can create a career and an honorable reputation through jazz, ANTA chose a more representative jazzman than perhaps they knew. De Paris began playing trombone in carnivals in 1907 when he was seven. He spent years as part of the small traveling Negro theatrical-musical tabloid shows, booked through the South before segregated audiences by the T.O.B.A. (Theatre Owners and Bookers Association, or as usually explained by veterans of the circuit, Tough On Black Artists). After many more years in night clubs and vaudeville, including time with Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington, de Paris finally organized a band of his own and presented his "New Orleans Jazz." It was characterized by a much broadened repertoire (*Flow Gently, Sweet Afton,* for example); his own Spanish-tinged originals; and his disciplinary concept of arranging. He opened at Jimmy Ryan's in New York for a two-week stay in 1951, and he has been the main band there since.

De Paris and his band arrived in Accra, Ghana, during the delirious independence celebrations, and were a thorough success among the natives and professionals. "Everybody," noted a rather self-revealing dispatch from the American Embassy in Accra, "seemed surprised that they were such a quiet, easy-going lot when off-stage and such effective jazz artists on stage." The Embassy reported with special approval that de Paris must have made a favorable impression on the target group of high civil servants, professionals and businessmen because "many persons from this top group attended as many as three or four concerts."

The tour became a string of good impressions. Some weeks later, in Ethiopia, after a warmly approved performance before a capacity audience, Emperor Haile Selassie presented each of the jazzmen with a gold medal. He asked de Paris: "Why haven't you come to Ethiopia sooner?" "Because," de Paris answered logically, "nobody invited me."

De Paris was questioned on the status of the Negro in America everywhere in Africa—on radio interviews, at receptions and after concerts. "I would tell them," he says with his customary, seemingly immovable calm, "that things here were not perfect but that progress was continuous and it was a matter more or less of time."

Two other questions which de Paris came to expect were:

"How do you like Africa?"

"Wonderful. It's been a very revealing experience."

"Would you like to live here?"

"Under certain conditions by which I could make my way in my chosen profession. But that's not possible in Africa now."

De Paris added later that he had, in fact, become accustomed to certain American amenities of living (he has an apartment with five tanks of fish, a darkroom, a fourteen-speaker hi-fi set, three bird cages with fifty birds, and other avocational, expensive pursuits) and could not imagine himself as yet in an African context. "Except perhaps for Elizabethville in the Belgian Congo. Anyone could live there; it's as modern as anywhere in this country."

De PARIS admits that although he had noticed some change in the treatment of Africans in films in the past couple of years, "Africa was a complete surprise to me. I hadn't thought it was as far advanced as it is. I wasn't prepared for the Africans' extraordinary eagerness to go farther, to get more education, to know what's going on and become part of it. And I became aware of how conscious they are of independence, especially now that Ghana is free. Only in the Belgian Congo, where the government is doing so much for the natives, is the talk of independence a little more dormant. But it's there. The natives are going along with governmental benevolence to an extent until they can develop enough leaders and people qualified to govern."

He was also unprepared for the African reaction to his music. "Frankly, before I left, I thought they'd be openly enthusiastic. I'd read the press releases, for one thing, about Louis Armstrong's reception in Ghana. When I arrived, I found that the Ghana turnout for Louis had been the work of CBS and Ed Murrow. Certainly there had been 100,000 natives there, but it had been announced as something free. They didn't know

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anything about jazz or Louis Armstrong. Most of the welcoming reception were down-to-earth natives with no TV, no reading material about American jazz and only a few house radios. They came out to greet someone they'd never heard of. Louis did leave an impact by his showmanship. They appreciate comedy, even if they don't understand it.

"As for us," continued de Paris, "we found that the Europeans in the audiences reacted very much as people here do. Many hadn't heard jazz for a number of years." (The British *Melody Maker* received letters from lonely readers in Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanganyika and Nairobi, still happily stunned at the unexpected materialization of a jazz band. "To a public starved of live entertainment year in and year out, this was a night to remember," wrote R. E. Wallbank of Tanganyika.)

THE AFRICANS, however, couldn't be starved for something they had never seen or heard. "I would say they were enthusiastic," said de Paris, "but in a way unaccustomed to us. For many of them, these were instruments they had never seen before, played by people who obviously lived a different way of life, who looked like them but didn't speak their language. So they watched and listened in rapt wonderment. They didn't clap as audiences here, but all you had to do was look in their faces, their eyes, to see what I would call the enthusiasm of curiosity, of wonder. They would only explode when it came to a drum solo. We began to call our drummer, Wilbert Kirk, Chief Tom-Tom and we would salaam him. No, they didn't applaud at the end of a horn solo, although the Europeans did. After all, the Africans didn't know it as a solo, and did not know that applause was expected in that place."

"Besides," commented tour manager Dick Campbell, himself a Negro and well oriented in African mores and politics, "the African is not a man to just sit and listen. He wants action and movement. Many of them danced to Wilbur."

Campbell recalls a significant concert de Paris gave in Khartoum in the Sudan. "For the first time in their history, they were hearing this type of jazz. A young group of Moslems of the Sudan Cultural Center sponsored the concert, and there were representatives of seven races and religions and nationalities of the Sudan. The master-of-ceremonies, a Moslem Sudanese who had been educated at the University of Iowa, began by arguing the case for jazz to the large crowd. He pointed out that there was nothing to be ashamed of in jazz, that it was genuine folk music from America, that he had been to America and jazz wasn't bad at all. This was in the open air at 105 degrees in the shade. As we progressed, they began to like the music. His comments grew less and less apologetic and finally became more and more enthusiastic. The second night there were no apologies at all. So, in the Sudan, we went in preceded by apologies and wound up being a real exchange service.

"Racial identification with the de Paris band," Campbell points out, "was assertive everywhere, particularly in places where there was segregation, like the Belgian Congo and Tanganyika and the Nairobis. In Kenya, they wanted us to play in the concentration camps for the Mau-Maus who were being brainwashed, but the British Government wouldn't permit it because they were afraid the event would be given undue publicity by the United Nations Information Service."

De Paris, in addition to impressions and insights into the African independence drive, took back with him a number of native instruments and tape recordings of the music from several of the areas he visited. He has already begun adapting for his band three Sudanese pieces with which he was particularly taken.

The total de Paris tour of four months cost $65,000. Many of the concerts were free. The USIS occasionally allowed local promoters to run concerts, but for every paid concert, there was a free one as well. The paid concerts cut some $10,000 or $12,000 from the total cost.

Shortly after de Paris had returned and resumed his place at Jimmy Ryan's, a chief, the paramount of Kilimanjaro in Tanganyika, dropped into the club while here on an economic mission. The chief agreed that the trip had been valuable, and that the de Paris band had been a source of pride to the people of his country. But he added that jazz, for all that it might initially have come from Africa, has certainly been new to the natives.

ART

Maurice Grosser

WORK of the Catalan architect, Antoni Gaudi, so admired by Salvador Dali, is on display at the Museum of Modern Art through February 23. The material consists of photographs, plans and reproductions of detail assembled from Barcelona by Professor Henry-Russell Hitchcock. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum is showing until January 18 an extensive exhibit of Piet Mondrian's earlier canvases and drawings. One could not ask for a more interesting opposition. Gaudi was the most extreme—and indigestible—of the architects and designers who created the "Art Nouveau" style of the 1900s, while Mondrian achieved the perfect expression of the esthetic on which is based the architecture of our own time.

"Art Nouveau" (which Gaudi seems to have initiated in Barcelona some ten years earlier) appeared in Brussels and Paris in the 1890s. The French called it "Le Style Metro" after the Paris subway entrances designed in the manner — bronze structures resembling rising and drooping flower stems. The style's distinguishing characteristic was its constant use of the weak curve—a curve which begins as if it were intending to spiral, and then, instead of coming to an end with a snap, as it would in a Gothic or Baroque idiom, turns upon itself with an "S" motion and proceeds to go somewhere else. The style can be considered as an extension of the Gothic. It made use of naturalistic flower and vegetable forms for decorative motives as the Gothic did (although in Gothic the poppy, the iris, the cattail and the water lily are not to be found) and its immediate origin was the medievalism of the pre-Raphaelite painters. In the Gothic, however, architectural movements are vertical; if things do not move upward, at least they stay still.

Even in the work of the English medievalists of the 19th century—as can be seen in the iron work of the old Hotel Chelsea which comes from the studio of William Morris—the naturalistic flower motives are usually held fast in a fixed, architectural grill. But in "Art Nouveau" the sinuosities of vegetable form are no longer contained in a geometrical matrix; they replace it. They become the architectural structure. The architect no longer denies the force of gravity; he illustrates it, and viscosity and fluid motion as well. The bronze violets of a candelabra rise, are pulled back to earth, and rise again. Water lily stems on a vase drift in opposing currents. The substance composing the lettering of a sign slowly creeps down-

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ward like tar in the sun and thickens the characters' bases.

Gaudi did not confine himself to a vocabulary of flower forms. His greatest monument and perhaps the most astonishing ecclesiastical monument of our time, the Church of the Sagrada Familia, begun in 1885, would seem to contain almost every form in nature. The building was left unfinished at the architect's death. There exists only a transept, a triple-arched porch surmounted by four huge steeples whose shape, like elongated ears of corn, is reminiscent of Central Africa. The facade is in a sort of free Gothic. It is a pity that the fantasy of its details is not better illustrated in the present exhibit. There are palm trees, turtles and snails, flights of birds attached to the stone work by only the tip of a wing, dripping forms that might be moss or stalactites, trumpeting angels, interior columns swaying in slight spirals like the trunks of growing trees, no two alike. And high over the central portal an enormous octopus forms with his tentacles the IHS of Christ—extraordinary, fascinating and a little repellent in a way that seems both Coney Island and particularly Barcelonese.

THE CASA MILA, an apartment house begun in 1905, is an equally astonishing work. This has none of the Sagrada Familia's symmetry. It resembles a sea cave, hollowed out by the tides. The exterior pillars and balconies are of stone, pitted as if by wind and sand. The ceilings have ripple marks and mosaic patterns like light reflected from water. The iron work of the railings and balconies is kelp. The chimney pots are like giant anemones or polyps and the roof top surges in ridges and troughs like waves at sea.

All of the work without exception is ingenious, rich, elaborate, skillfully designed and carefully executed. Its "bad taste," its "Luna Park" aspect, only renders it more lively and entertaining. It is nevertheless more than a little oppressive. This, I think, is a question of weight.

Was Gaudi perhaps a fat man? I do not know. At any rate he must have had an exaggerated awareness of the pull of gravity. One realizes from the photographs of Santa Coloma de Cervello, with its leaning rough stone pillars, that he was a virtuoso in the calculation of mechanical strains. His columns turn and twist to follow torque and vector. His stonework sags to demonstrate its mass. His furniture bends in supporting its own weight, and mirrors and door-panels slip down in their frames. Everything is semi-fluid, like stiff molasses or warm chocolate creams. (Dali calls it edible architecture.) Everything is sinking upon our heads. It is precisely this—the tendency to fall, to subside, to melt—which makes "Art Nouveau" so difficult to revive as a decorative style in spite of the beauty of much of its furniture, and which places the work of Gaudi, despite his undeniable genius, outside the useful traditions of architecture.

THE MONDRIANS on display at the Guggenheim Museum date from 1904 to 1943, with emphasis on the pictures of earlier years. Up to 1910 the work is that of a well-trained draughtsman and a remarkable colorist, master of every color style from close harmonies in subdued tones to the most brilliant Fauvist orchestrations. The subjects—a tree, a dune, a windmill—are rather excuses for color than significant in themselves. But the color harmonies could not be more beautiful.

In 1911 the painter left Holland for Paris and Cubism. He simplified his color to the gray-blue, dun and black which one knows so well in the Cubist work of the period and schematized his drawing to an exceptionally simple Cubist pattern. The subjects are principally trees and are quite recognizable. The line has been reduced to short vertical and horizontal strokes and to sections of simple curves. Somewhere around 1914, as can be seen in a picture entitled *Facade*, Mondrian abandons all naturalistic evocation, the curved lines disappear, and one begins to find the strict canons of abstraction usually associated with this painter's work.

These canons, however, are not yet complete. Just as in his Cubist pictures, where the tree forms in the center of the canvas do not extend into the corners, the composition of these early abstractions is concentrated in the center. In *Facade*, in the drawings *Cathedral* and *Pier and Ocean*, in *Composition with Lines (Plus-Minus)*—all from 1914-17 and executed in close patterns of horizontal and vertical dashes—the lines and crosses falling in the corners are either painted in paler tones or eliminated altogether. Otherwise these rectangular marks, underlined and accented by their nearness to the rectangular corners of the frame, would have upset the balance of the composition and led the eye out of the picture. This in fact does happen in two later works of 1919 done in regular checks (*Composition. Checkerboard, Light Colors* and *Composition. Checkerboard, Dark Colors*) which on account of their even pattern and insistent corners resemble nothing so much as sections of a bathroom floor. The early Cubists frequently avoided this difficulty by painting in an oval. Mondrian learned to avoid it by working on a diamond-shaped canvas and thus eliminating the troublesome horizontal corners. He finally solved the problem by abandoning his regular, all-over pattern for an open and unsymmetrical plaid.

Plaids such as these, I am given to understand, were once commonly used in art schools to analyze students' compositions. The important objects in a picture were enclosed in bands parallel to the sides of the canvas, whereupon the rightness of the space divisions in the picture itself could be judged by the intrinsic interest of the resulting plaid. Here, however, the plaid is the thing sought for; contrary to what one might think, it does not come easily. Holding the eye with such paucity of means—no lines but the vertical and horizontal, two or three simple colors, no gradation of tone, no visible brush stroke, and all done in a careful free-hand imitation of mechanical exactitude—demands the most accurate feeling for space division and the most painstaking effort. Nor are these pictures easy to imitate. One has only to see them beside others of the school (as in the Gallatin collection in the Philadelphia Museum) to be aware of their superiority.

Unfortunately, these later pictures are not holding up. The earlier ones, painted with more spontaneous brush work on a rougher canvas, are still handsome, clean and well preserved. The later ones, executed in smooth paint on a smooth canvas prepared with heavy priming, already show the irreparable cracks which such a ground will suffer from even the slightest blow. And their pure and even whites are accepting the patina of age no more gracefully than do the flat facades of our modern buildings. It seems a pity that these pictures were not executed in some more resistant material.

Perhaps they were. These orderly grids with their carefully adjusted proportions have been of enormous use to typography and to architecture. These contributions may turn out to be Mondrian's most enduring monument. He is the one celebrated painter of our time whose individual pictures are difficult to remember. One remembers the general pattern more vividly than one can recall a particular work. But it is also due to the perfection of these pictures' proportions that the world of our time is so unforgettably stamped with Mondrian's memory.

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NIGHT CLUBS

Dan Wakefield

JACK KEROUAC opened at the Village Vanguard in New York on the Thursday night before Christmas, as part of a holiday bill which included the J. J. Johnson quartet and Beverly Kenny. J. J. Johnson is an old pro, a trombone man of dignity and distinction. Beverly Kenny is a red-head who sings a deep-throated, swinging style, and Jack Kerouac is the "spokesman" of the Beat Generation by merit of his recent novel, *On The Road*. Kerouac, the uncompromising hipster, was billed as reading from his own "works," to the background accompaniment of a jazz pianist. A beer at the Village Vanguard bar goes for $1.25, and the minimum for sitting at a table is $4 per person, so it was understandable that not too many "beat" characters were able to enjoy Kerouac's debut on the nightclub circuit. There were, however, one seaman, one poet and one blonde in Kerouac's corner (the dimly-lit corner at the back) for Friday night's performance.

An agent of *The Nation* showed up late, ordered a beer at the bar and turned to face the stage, where Kerouac stood beneath several smoky beams with a large sheaf of manuscript in his hands and recited to a cold (as distinguished from cool) audience from a piece about life in the famous "Cellar" bar in San Francisco. Kerouac wore his hair in need of a cut; brown slacks, brown shoes, cotton argyles and a gold-thread open-neck sportshirt that glistened in the dark and hung out over his belt.

Kerouac was reading a passage about his friendship with the bartenders at the "Cellar." A gentleman known as Lou, tending bar at the Vanguard, turned to his clients and remarked quietly, "He won't make many bartender friends if he keeps on usin' *that* stuff." Lou was a man in his late forties, and no doubt unfamiliar with The Beat Generation.

There were, however, signs of genuine liberal tendencies among the audience. A table of what looked to be the leftovers of an office party from around Times Square was shuffling restlessly when one of the gentlemen "ssshdd" them and explained, "Some people like this stuff." Back in Kerouac's corner, the blonde explained to the newly-seated *Nation* agent that Jack didn't like the idea of this nightclub business but thought it might help *On The Road*. "If it gets back on the bestseller list, they may take it as a movie. If he sells it as a movie, he won't have to do *this* sort of thing any more."

KEROUAC finally finished with "this sort of thing," and retired to the back room where J. J. Johnson and his pros were taking their break. Johnson and his sidemen were supremely sober and Kerouac came back drunk to sit at the edge of their table. He was at first politely ignored and was finally recognized after asking Mr. Johnson, "What did you think of what I read?" Johnson looked at him, the lion-tamer in the circus looking at the kid who had just won the amateur hog-calling contest, and asked him if he had written it. Kerouac admitted he had written it and Johnson, after a pause, judged that "it sounded very deep." Kerouac said how much he enjoyed Johnson's trombone, and said that he personally had always wanted to be a tenor sax man.

"Man, I could really work with a tenor sax," said Kerouac.

Johnson looked up without expression and said, "You look more like a trumpet man to me."

Kerouac's next "set" opened with a reading called "The Life of a Sixty Year Old Mexican Junkie." It seemed this junkie had been picked up while a young man by an American female junkie and finally got the monkey on his back. The story was sad indeed. It met with applause from the audience of the Village Vanguard. After that episode, Kerouac looked out blinking from beneath the spotlights and asked, "Has anyone here ever heard of Allan Ginsberg?"

Kerouac's corner clapped, and a few scattered claps came from across the floor. Kerouac then announced that he had Ginsberg's latest poem right there with him and that he would read it. He raised the sheaf of manuscripts before him, pointed his finger to the smoky ceiling, and began to proclaim. In the dark, it was impossible to note down all the verses, but the key refrain seemed to be, "Mother, with your six vaginas."

Kerouac did not state where Ginsberg is at present, and for all we know he is still in San Francisco. It seems only reasonable, though, that he soon will be opening at "El Morocco." If Kerouac has made the nightclub circuit, Ginsberg should not be far behind.

It seems only yesterday that Ginsberg was sitting on a deserted railroad tie in California with Jack Kerouac, writing poetry about his beat friends who challenged the status quo and bewailed the rape of American letters by Philistine forces. Was it only yesterday that Ginsberg dedicated his almost-banned book of poems, *Howl*, to Jack Kerouac, "the new Buddha of American prose" whose eleven books were "published in heaven"? And now one is published by the Viking Press and the others are being read at the Village Vanguard by the Buddha himself. The glow-in-the-dark, gold-thread shirt worn by the Buddha in his Vanguard readings seems to be the principal symbol of his "protest" still remaining. One recalls the lines of Kenneth Rexroth's poem dealing with the death of Dylan Thomas: "You killed him, in your goddam Brooks Brothers suit." We can only shudder at the genocide that should be wreaked by Kerouac's haberdashery.

But all is not beat. It so happened, by one of those wonderful plots of the Muse, that on the same night Kerouac was reading from his testament at the Vanguard, a young poet named Richard Wilbur was about four blocks across the Village reading from his work at New York University.

Richard Wilbur was born in 1921, and is thereby entitled to inclusion as a member of the Beat Generation. He wears, however, a Brooks Brothers suit, has never recited from his work in the Village Vanguard, quotes heavily from Greek and medieval philosophers, and is currently teaching a Shakespeare course at Wesleyan University. Richard Wilbur is 36 years old and Jack Kerouac is 35. The painful difference is that Wilbur is a man and Kerouac a kid.

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to the Village Vanguard the Friday night before Christmas was to realize that there is no such thing as a "generation"; that there are born each year a certain number of men and a certain number of boys; that out of each era in our national history there come a few poets and a few poor boys who wander with words, and that no grand generalization can tie them together. Jack Kerouac sweats beneath the spotlights of a nightclub to bring his novel back to the bestseller list. He is now "On The Town." Lo and behold—it is Richard Wilbur who is on the road; who has been, all along.

MUSIC

Lester Trimble

GEORGE BALANCHINE has been turning out choreographic masterpieces for a long time. But with *Agon,* which was given its premiere performance by the New York City Ballet, I think he has outdone even himself. This ballet is like nothing that anyone has ever seen before. Even more than Balanchine's previous creations, it is an example of abstract music transformed directly into visual movement and design. Its idiom is pure, twentieth-century classic. And it is a tour de force.

Balanchine, being a trained musician as well as a dancer, has a consistent advantage over other choreographers. Instead of being aware of the music as something happening vaguely in another part of the studio or theatre, he gears his movements and patterns directly to the moods and rhythmic gestures of the score. Indeed, he has stated in so many words, with reference to *Agon,* that he sought "to find some visual equivalent" of the music which was "a complement; not an illustration . . . of a comparable density, quality, metrical insistence, variety, formal mastery, or symmetrical asymmetry." This is the thinking of an abstract craftsman, the only kind of thinking that could have penetrated the mysteries of Stravinsky's *Agon* score and re-evoked them in another medium.

Both Stravinsky and Balanchine have remained a little inscrutable with regard to the inspirational underpinning of their work, despite their obvious efforts to give the public a clue. It is stated in the program notes that the *Agon* pieces were modeled after examples in a French dance manual of the mid-seventeenth century. But, in the choreography, only an occasional flicker of courtly gesture, a sudden, unexpected movement in the language of manners, give any hint of the seventeenth century. Detailed analysis of the *Sarabandes, Gailliards* and *Bransles* would undoubtedly uncover relationships between Balanchine's treatment of these dance forms and their archaic prototypes. But in action *Agon* passes by with such kaleidoscopic speed that there is little time for analysis. The eye follows, comprehends and can hardly believe that it has comprehended, or explain *what* it has comprehended. This, of course, is a normal reaction to real virtuosity—the gasp of astonishment and applause.

I am convinced that the explanation of *Agon's* extraordinary choreographic organization is to be found less in the dance-manual references than in the nature of Stravinsky's latest compositional manner. As I mentioned a few months back, speaking of his *Canticum Sacrum,* the twelve-tone system has found its way into Stravinsky's studio. *Agon,* even more than the *Canticum,* shows the influence of this fragmented style, particularly as it was exemplified in the works of Webern. The orchestra gives forth with an aviary of pointillist sounds, formally insistent splotches of string harmonics, bits of disembodied flutter-tonguing, and (unlike Webern) a rhythmic impulse as strong as steel and as tense as wire. There is clearly a relationship between *Agon* and the *Canticum,* and yet, of the two, *Agon* sounds much more like the familiar neo-classic ballet-score Stravinsky. Its neo-classicism, as evidenced by references to earlier styles of music, seems to hover this time in the area of medievalism. (Just how this fits in with the seventeenth century dance manual, I can't imagine. But, then, neo-classicism has always, despite its name, ranged farther back into history than the Classical period, and I suppose the Medieval fits just as logically within its purview as does the Baroque.) From only two hearings of the score, both while watching the stage, it was not possible to determine whether Stravinsky has employed in *Agon* the involved canonic techniques to which Webern was so devoted. But, whether he did or not, I am sure Balanchine *thought* he did. For some of the most flamboyantly effective portions of the choreography involved such techniques, in which the dancers, one a split-second after the other, echoed almost identical phrases, conjoined surprisingly on a transient beat, and then dissolved again into a sort of flickering, coruscated texture. Had Balanchine's ideas been less clean-cut, expressive chaos would have reigned. But, in fact, the patterns impinged and interlocked with such brilliance and accuracy that they remained totally intelligible, and gorgeous. Balanchine has likened his new ballet to an I.B.M. electronic computer, and if you will rule out any suggestion of aridity or heartlessness from that description, it stands up pretty well. It doesn't, however, account for the work's wittiness, and its joy in the exuberant beauty of pure movement. Nor does it account for the splendid dancing of Melissa Hayden, Diana Adams, Roy Tobias, Jonathan Watts, Todd Bolender, Barbara Walczak, Arthur Mitchell and Barbara Milberg.

ON THE same program with *Agon* were three earlier Stravinsky-Balanchine ballets, and it was a stroke of inspiration to place them together. For, not only are *Apollo, Orpheus* and *The Firebird* masterpieces in their own right, but their collection on one program points up the fact that genius, while it must have time to develop, is genius from the beginning. Balanchine's choreography for *Apollo,* which he created when he was only twenty-four, has in it the same flair and inventive originality as does *Agon.* But it is boyish by comparison; its innovations have not yet been absorbed into the choreographer's personal language. Even in the present staging, which certainly deviates in flavor from the original (if only because it has lanky Jacques D'Amboise rather than Serge Lifar in the title role), a bit of French estheticism peeks through, and a hint of *épater les bourgeois*-ism. Sex is thrown on in a gob, as a boy-genius would do it, rather than being rarified and sophisticated as the man presents it in *Agon.* By the time of *The Firebird,* which was choreographed nineteen years later, Balanchine had left all growing pains behind. And, in *Orpheus,* of the same period, he created a work which, for its qualities of deep, heartfelt insight and its exposition of human truths—some of them never before touched upon in ballet—stands in roughly the same position with regard to the dance as *Hamlet* does to the spoken theatre. To these achievements, *Agon* was an exciting sequel. I wonder what will come next?

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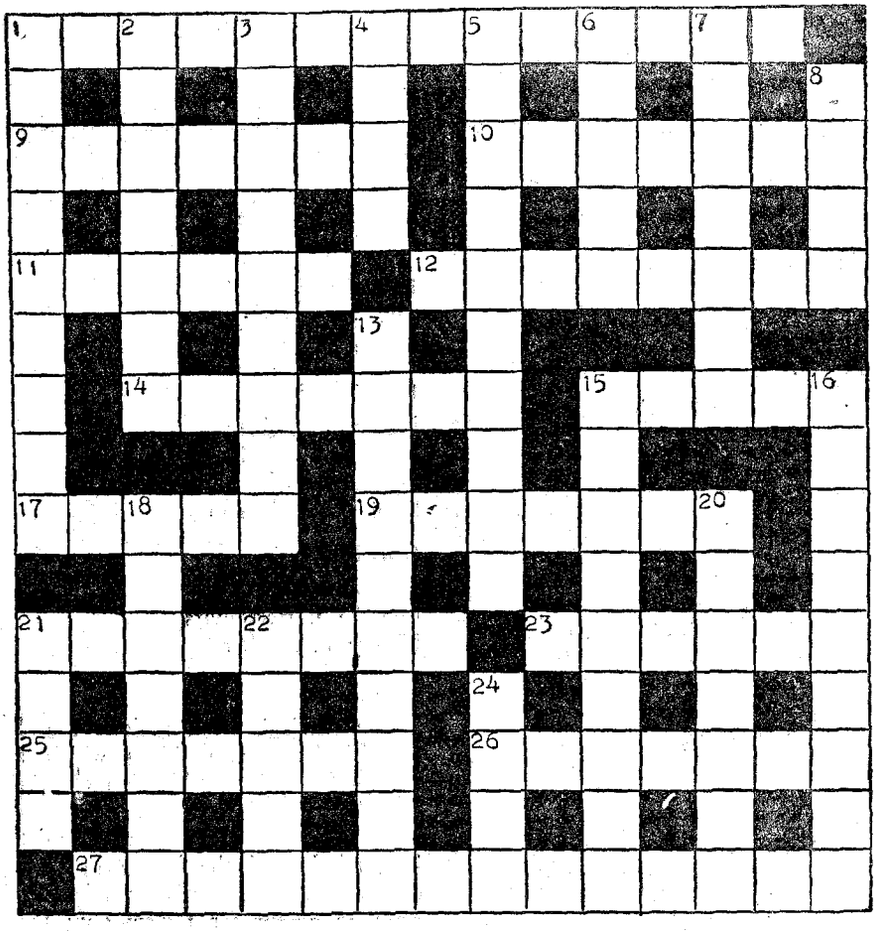
Crossword Puzzle No. 753

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Wood painting, suggestive of architecture. (8, 6)
9 Titanic crusher. (7)
10 and 22 down Such a quiet tone implies an impartial spirit. (7, 5)
11 An umlaut does. (6)
12 To do so might involve a plot, but not against propaganda. (8)
14 This lowers the dignity of a girl who comes out on the stormy seas. (7)
15 To the same extent a television receiver is something of value. (5)
17 The stratum of America's tenements. (5)
19 Such people can perhaps afford to play bridge all the time, but not with the first rubber. (7)
21 Aim close around the body, perhaps. (8)
23 See 18 down
25 Old comedies shown by the group of us. (3, 4)
26 Counter punch? (7)
27 This might happen after a spell! (14)

DOWN:

1 Mix a coati with this? Confusing, but self-evident! (9)
2 Perhaps changed for the better, somewhat like a poem and them. (7)
3 Could be fine before a story, but hardly describable. (9)
4 Singularly enough, this plant could be sort of festive. (4)
5 The munificence of Eton is Grey. (10)
6 This could be a firm combination. (5)
7 Is the drain so dilapidated as other entrances? (7)
8 Monotonous quarters, perhaps. (4)
13 The way coral is got pseudo-scientifically. (10)
15 Shaft at the source of food. (9)
16 Start nine on the road, perhaps. (9)
18 and 23 across Might suggest class cutting, but divided differently would be warlike talk. (7, 6)
20 Render mad, or at least angered. (7)
21 Whip cut? (4)
22 See 10 across
24 As to this, it should afford a sheltered promenade. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 752

ACROSS: 1 HEAVENWARD; 6 SCOT; 10 VETERAN; 11 NOSTRUM; 12 NEAR; 13 SOFA PILLOW; 15 WAYSIDE; 16 KOUMISS; 17 NOODLES; 20 CRUELTY; 22 EFFRONTERY; 23 ECRU; 25 FORBEAR; 26 CLEANSE; 27 LODE; 28 ACCELERATE. DOWN: 1, 8 and 24 HAVING WONDERFUL TIME. WISH YOU WERE HERE; 2 ACTUARY; 3 EARN; 4 WINSOME; 5 RANSACK; 7 CORELLI; 9 ASSIDUOUS; 14 PILLBOXES; 18 OFFERED; 19 SATYRIC; 20 CORACLE; 21 LACONIA.

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